/76 cont./

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
825 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
776 the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
● 731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
•731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons,
and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those
who surround him and the others who have come out of their
houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they
should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is
the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly
invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid
well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255
male students of the school perish were of no avail since both
they and the female students became sick, but only one of the
boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 789 •731 824 [197]

Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields. but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755

In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns [342] of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necesary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout.

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C CC [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C CC 174 361

Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C 361 [632] [797] C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

3/1 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/38 cont./

of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

178. Nord. 1, p. 289.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.